1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

En-juñgore.

Ten ĕă ol-móruo loo-'l-Maasae, nejuñg en-gerai enye bŏtor in-dŏkitin enye pŏkin, oo 'n-gĭshu oo 'n-dare oo-'ñgorŏyok nemeata 'n-gera; kake meidim aiyawa 'n-gĭshu oo 'n-dare oo-'ñgorŏyok naaata 'ng-ayok.

E'ya 'n-gulye-kera naara 'ng-ayok 'n-gĭshu oo-'ng-ajijik oo-nooñgotonye.

Teni meata ol-móruo 'n-gera, nejuñg il-alashera lenyena 'n-gĭshu oo 'ñgorŏyok; kake mejuñg i-ñgorŏyok ol-alashe oñgárie kina, amu torono; nejuñg lekwa lemeñgárie kina, ninje oo'ya 'ñgorŏyok.

Ore ten eĭu e-ñgorŏyŏni enye eng-ayŏni to-'l-alashe lemeñgárie kina, araki te-lighae-tuñgani, neishori inna-kerai 'n-gĭshu metujuñgo, neipotyeki aajo ol-le-inna-añg.

Naa, ten ĕă ol-móruo, neiñgua e-ñgorŏyŏni enye eata en-gerai kake eng-ayŏni, mejuñgi 'n-gĭshu enyena, epali metubulu ol-openy.

Mejuñg il-Maasae 'l-apulayani lenye, amu torono.

Inheritance.

When the father of a family dies, his eldest son inherits all his property[1], and also the herds and flocks belonging to the childless widows, but not those which are the property of widows who have sons. 428

The sons by each wife inherit the cattle belonging to their mother's family.

If a man dies childless, his brothers inherit his cattle and his half-brothers his wives. It is unlawful for a man's own brothers (i. e. brothers by the same mother) to take his wives. [587]

Should a widow have a son by her late husband's half-brother or by another man, the child is given the cattle which he would otherwise have inherited had his mother's former husband been alive, and he is considered to belong to that family. 587 428 851

If a man dies and leaves a son who is a minor, the property which he inherits is taken care of for him until he grows up[2]. 428 429

It is considered unlawful for a man to inherit the property of his maternal uncle. 428 604

[1] The Masai distribute their herds and flocks amongst their wives during their lifetime, each one being given a certain number to look after and milk. The cattle so distributed are said to belong to the wife's family, and are recognized as the property of her sons, who, however, do not assume ownership until after their father's death. [422]

[2] In a case of this kind, the child does not go to the wars, but marries soon after he is circumcised.

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

601 431 Thus, a man gives his brother's wife or his paternal uncle's wife, or his paternal uncle's son's wife a cow, a calf, or a lamb, and the terms of address used by the two, instead of being *par-sidan* or *yeiyo*, as the case may be, are *pa-kiteñg*, *pa-ashe*, or *pa-supen*; a father-in-law gives his daughter-in-law a calf, and the two call one another *pa-ashe;* and a paternal uncle gives his nephew's wife a she-goat and calls her *pa-kine*. Similarly a man's first wife usually presents each successive wife with [595] a calf on her marriage, and instead of using the term *na-aisi* when speaking to one another the two women say *pa-ashe;* a woman gives her husband's brother's wife a donkey as a wedding present, and the two women call one another *pa-sighiria;* and a mother-in-law selects a cow for her daughter-in-law some months after marriage, when she has learnt to keep house for her husband, and the form of address is *pa-kiteñg*. This method of address is carried even further, and is used between men of the same family. A father, for instance, usually gives his son a bull when the boy is eight or nine years of age, and the two call one another *pa-oiñgōni* instead of *papa* and *li-ayōni;* a paternal uncle makes a similar present to his nephew, and the same form of address is used; an elder brother gives his younger brother a heifer, and the two call one another *pa-'n-dauwo*; and paternal cousins often use the terms *pa-oro* or *pa-merregesh* when talking to each other.

The following terms are found: *pa-kiteñg*, the bullock or the cow; *pa-moñyi*, the bullock; *pa-kishu*, the cows; *pa-oiñgōni*, the bull; *pa-'n-dauwo*, the heifer; *pa-buñgwi*, the bull calf; *pa-ashe*, the calf; *pa-kwo*, *pa-oro*, or *pa-sitima*, the he-goat; *pa-kine*, the she-goat; *pa-lalelo*, the kid; *pa-kerr*, the ewe; *pa-merregesh*, the ram; *pa-sighiria*, the donkey; *pa-supen*, the ewe lamb; *pa-mao*, the twin kids.

With one exception, a present of this nature is not made, nor are these terms of address used, outside the father's family. Thus, a brother cannot give his sister a heifer so that the two might call one another *pa-'n-dauwo*, because if the sister marries she will leave the family; a maternal uncle cannot give his nephew a bull and call him *pa-oiñgōni*, and maternal cousins may not address one another by the terms *pa-oro*, etc. The exception to this rule is made when a man marries. He then presents his father-in-law with a bullock and his mother-in-law with an ewe, and the terms of address are *pa-kiteñg* and *pa-kerr*. These presents have nothing [583] to do with the cattle paid for the bride.

● 604 578 754 A maternal uncle (*ol-apu*) exercises great influence over his nephews, as it is believed that if he were to curse them they would die. He can at any time stop a fight in which one of his nephews is engaged by merely calling on his nephew to desist, as the nephew would be afraid of his right arm withering if he were to [593] disobey. This power is to a certain extent reciprocal, and if a man were to start 593 beating his wife he would have to stop if his maternal nephew ordered him to do 626 so. A father and any old man of the family can also usually stop a fight by telling 754 the combatants to desist, but they are not necessarily listened to. A mother has more influence, and if her son refuses to obey her, she strikes her stomach and says, "You were born in this"; whereupon the son is said to sicken, and can only recover when his mother makes a rope of fibre which she hangs round his neck.

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

Besides the power of a maternal uncle to stop a fight, he has also the right to take anything which belongs to his nephew. If the uncle desires anything that is the property of his nephew's father, the nephew must buy it from his father, who will at once give it up when he knows for whom it is required. This power of taking property is reciprocal, and in fact applies to all persons who address one another as *ol-apu*, *ol-le-'ng-apu*, etc. A nephew, for instance, can go to his maternal uncle's kraal, and if his uncle is absent, he can slaughter a goat or drink his uncle's milk, and nothing would be said. He cannot, however, drive off a cow without his uncle's sanction, but permission would not be refused. Other relatives have likewise some power of taking property. A boy or man can go to his father's or paternal uncle's kraal and take or demand a goat or milk, and in all probability nothing would be said, but if it were done repeatedly the father or uncle would express dissatisfaction or refuse altogether. A man may also go to his sister's husband or wife's brother (*ol-aputani*) and take anything, but an account is kept and the debt has to be returned. If a man is poor it is customary for him to live with one of his brothers-in-law (*ol-aputani*) and help to look after the stock. He is fed for his trouble, and as payment receives one out of every pair of twin goats born.

First cousins and second cousins may not marry, but there is no objection to third cousins marrying if the relationship is no nearer than *ol-le-'sitwa* (or *en-e-'sitwa*). Thus, a man's son's son's son may not marry the man's brother's son's son's daughter, nor may a man's son's son's son marry the sister's son's son's daughter, but there would be no objection to a man's son's son's son marrying the brother's daughter's daughter's daughter or the sister's daughter's daughter's daughter's daughter. Likewise though a man's son's son may not marry the man's maternal uncle's son's son's daughter, he may marry the maternal uncle's son's daughter's daughter. These unions are always contingent on the two parties not belonging to the same sub-clan.[1] The rules of consanguinity and affinity which regulate marriage also apply to the sexual intercourse of warriors with immature girls before marriage and to the rights of hospitality after marriage. No warrior may select as his

[1] The Masai are divided into five clans: *Il-Aiser*, *Il-Molgana*, *Il-Molwan*, *Il-Molelyan*, and *Il-Tarbare*. Each clan is again divided into sub-clans, *e.g.*, the *Il-Aiser* contain amongst others the following: *In-gidolgi* and *Il-Purkuset*. No man belonging to the *In-gidolgi* sub-clan may take as wife the daughter of a man of the same sub-clan, but he may marry the daughter of the *Il-Purkuset* or he may marry a daughter of the *Il-Molgana*, *Il-Molwan*, *Il-Molelyan*, or *Il-Tarbare* clans. Members of the various sub-clans are usually to be found in all the districts and sub-districts. Marriages are not affected by geographical considerations, and a man has the same lawful marital relations in all the sub-districts as he has in his own home sub-district.

In his recent book, *The Ethnology of the A-Kamba and other East African Tribes* (Cambridge, 1910), Hobley states (p. 121) that the restrictions governing marriage amongst the Masai are far from simple, and he gives a number of complicated instances. As a matter of fact the rules are quite simple if one remembers (i) that though the clans are not exogamous, the sub-clans into which the clans are divided are exogamous; and (ii) that no man may marry a nearer relation than a third cousin, and then only if the terms of address used are *ol-le-'sitwa* and *en-e-'sitwa*.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
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593 431 601 *Gifts to Certain Relations.*—A somewhat similar custom is that which ordains that a grown-up son must give certain presents to all children born to his father, as follows:—

(1) To a young girl-child, either a heifer or else a young ewe or young she-goat which has not yet had young. If the former present is given the child in future calls its brother (or half-brother) *baashi*, and if either of the two latter animals is given the appropriate name is *bakuu*.

(2) To a boy-child, either a heifer or a young ram or else a young ewe or she-goat which has not yet had young. The following are the appropriate names by which the boy henceforward calls the man: *Ithubia* if the gift was a young ewe, *ingini* if the gift was a young she-goat, *ndauu* if the gift was a heifer, *ithithume* if the gift was a young ram.

A grown-up son must also give a present to any new wife married by his father, the animal given and the name thenceforward used by the woman to the man being exactly as in the case of girl-children above.

604 *Mother's Brother.*—Among the Masai I can find no trace of any special functions of the mother's brother, and he has no special position in relation to his sister or her children.

589 *Widowhood.*—There is no idea of uncleanness attaching to widowhood, and therefore there is no ceremonial purification ceremony before sexual life can be indulged in by a widow. When a woman is left a widow she builds herself a hut [607] with one of her husband's own brothers (*i.e.* brothers by the same mother), and he becomes responsible for her welfare and acts *in loco parentis* to her children as far as making arrangements for initiation and marriage, etc., are concerned. In [835] no circumstances, however, may this brother or any other of her husband's own [851] brothers have sexual intercourse with the woman. If she is still of child-bearing age she is expected to go on having children (who will rank as her late husband's), and to this end she may have sexual relations with:—

589 834 (1) Any men of her late husband's age-group, who are not excluded by other restrictions (*see* above).

(2) Any of her late husband's half-brothers (*i.e.* brothers by a different mother).

(3) Any other men not otherwise excluded.

759 *Sickness.*—My informant was unwilling or unable to give me any detailed information about the treatment of sick people, save that medicines were made from the barks and seeds of various trees and from the stomach juices of slaughtered animals.

PART VII.—DEATH AND BURIAL.

76 *Death.*—Death is looked upon with fear and, therefore—except in the case of very old men and women past child-bearing—every precaution is taken to avoid a

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

In the first descending generation, the word *en-kerai*, " child," may be applied to son, daughter, brother's son and daughter, and father's brother's son's son and daughter, or they may be distinguished as masc. *ol-ayioni*, " boy," and fem. *en-tito*, " girl." Father's brother's daughter's son is *ol-aputani*, and father's brother's daughter's daughter *en-e-sotua*, the latter term applying also to father's sister's daughter's daughter, and mother's sister's son's daughter. The term *o-le-sotua* is applied to the mother's brother's daughter's son, mother's sister's son's son, mother's sister's daughter's son, and father's sister's daughter's son. *O-le-nk-apu* is applied to the sons of father's sister's son and mother's brother's son, and *en-e-nk-apu* to their daughters. In this generation there are no terms for mother's brother's daughter's daughter, and mother's sister's daughter's daughter.

In the second descending generation, *ol-akui* includes the sons of a man's own son and daughter, brother's son, father's brother's son's son, father's brother's son's daughter; while *enk-akui* is applied to their daughters. Father's brother's daughter's son's son is *ol-aputani*, and the daughter is *en-e-sotua*. The term *o-le-nk-apu* covers son's son, and the sons of sister's son, father's sister's son's son, and mother's brother's son's son; their daughters are *en-e-nk-apu*. *O-le-sotua* includes the sons of sister's daughter, father's brother's daughter's daughter, father's sister's daughter's son, father's sister's son's daughter, mother's brother's son's daughter, mother's brother's daughter's son, mother's sister's son's son, mother's sister's son's daughter, and mother's sister's daughter's son; *en-e-nk-apu* is applied to the daughters. There are no terms for mother's brother's daughter's daughter's son and daughter, or for mother's sister's daughter's daughter's son and daughter.

Among affines, the term *ol-aputani* is applied to wife's father, wife's father's brother, and wife's brother, but their wives are *enk-aputani*, *en-e-sotua*, and *en-e-sotua* respectively. Son and grandson of wife's brother are also *ol-aputani*. Wife's sister is *e-sindani e-anyit*, and all children and grandchildren of wife's brother and sister (except wife's brother's son and grandson) are *-e-sotua*. The majority of affinal terms are in fact of the *-e-sotua* category. Husband is *ol-moruo* or *ol-payian*, wife *e-goroyioni* or *en-kitok;* junior wife is *enk-aini*.

These kinship terms, however, are not very much used, for it is the custom of the Masai to call each other by cattle-names: members of a domestic group give each other cattle on various occasions, and thereafter the word denoting the kind of animal given is used as the equivalent of a reciprocal relative term; the animal name is prefixed by *pa*, meaning " giver or receiver of." Thus, a father usually gives his son a bull when he is about 10 years old, and they then call each other *pa-oiyoni*, " giver (receiver) of a bull " instead of *papa* and *li-ayioni*. An elder brother will give a younger brother a heifer, and they will then be *pa-n-tawuo* (heifer) to each other. Paternal cousins often call each other *pa-meregesh* (ram).

Among these relatives, the mother's brother has great power and influence over his sister's son. He can give him orders, which must be obeyed, and he may take what he wants from his nephew, who has also the right to take what he wants from his uncle. Refusal to obey the mother's brother can be punished by cursing, but this is not reciprocal. Behaviour patterns are based on seniority and the claims of kinship, and are expressed in the avoidance of bad language and unseemly actions, and the observance of formality between certain persons. There is avoidance between a man and his wife's mother, and between a man and his full brother's wife, though not between him and his half-brother's wife. The formality of greetings helps to preserve the respect for elderhood.

Pre-marital Sex-life

A man's sex-life begins when he has been circumcised; a girl's when she reaches puberty. Pre-marital relations are more formalized than among the Nandi, since the unmarried warriors of a local company, *sirit*, live in a barrack, *e-manyata*, with their mothers, some of their sisters, and their girl lovers, *e-sanca*, each man having his own lover. The rules which regulate marriage apply in the selection of a lover.